

as an historical phenomenon and as a powerful metaphor depicting human existence as a journey either to damnation, eternal exile, or salvation, final reunion with God.

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Art and Architecture Along the Pilgrimage Routes to Santiago de Compostela

Eric C. Apfelstadt

The exterior aspect of pilgrimage in the later Middle Ages is nowhere better witnessed than in the great crusading campaigns and along the popular pilgrimage routes which led travelers across Europe to destinations ranging from the Holy Land to Rome to Santiago de Compostela. In the art history lecture for the pilgrimage module at Santa Clara University, the focus is upon the latter manifestation—the vast migration of pilgrims who, motivated by the cult of saints and relics, proceeded from church to shrine, despite often nearly insurmountable obstacles, in pursuit of miraculous intercession in their immediate lives and eternal lots. The pilgrims' visits to holy sites and relics are inextricably bound up with the circumstances of the physical journey, and the transformation which they expected to realize through their experiences along the way closely parallels the goals of the less tangible quests investigated in the literature and philosophy lectures.

The subject of pilgrimage, especially that to Santiago de Compostela, is commonly addressed in the study of medieval art. Entire books have been written about the phenomenon, and chapters devoted to its art and architecture appear in even the most basic surveys of the period, so preparing an interdisciplinary module such as the one at Santa Clara University may involve more a streamlining of familiar art historical material than the creation of a substantially new focus on it. I approached the module initially with the expectation of treating Romanesque architecture and sculpture fairly thoroughly in their pilgrimage context, but that goal has gradually been modified in deference to the novelty of the subject matter for the students from the various participating courses. The major challenge, I now believe, is how to present pilgrimage art and architecture responsibly in a manner that is readily accessible to a mixed audience drawn from several different disciplines. Although the students have grown up surrounded by images, most are far more accustomed to reading historical or literary texts than to dealing in a systematic way with visual material.

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As Dorothea French has noted in her article "Peregrinatio" in this issue, the anthology for the module includes brief excerpts from Marilyn Stokstad's *Santiago de Compostela in the Age of the Great Pilgrimages* (20-27, 30-34, 50, 54-58) for firsthand descriptions of the pilgrim's experiences, and from her *Medieval Art* (221-28) for a compact illustrated discussion of the pilgrimage style. To the latter selection, which focuses usefully on Ste. Foy at Conques (fig. 1), St. Sernin at Toulouse (fig. 2), and the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (fig. 3), I have added a labeled elevation of St. Sernin, a labeled plan of the Cathedral of Santiago, and a comprehensive view and details of the Last Judgment tympanum at Ste. Foy. Stokstad's passages pertinent to the south portal of St. Pierre at Moissac (*Medieval Art*, 243-44) and to the Last Judgment tympana at Autun and Vezelay (*Medieval Art*, 238-40) may also profitably be appended (fig. 4). My main consideration in choosing the reading is that the students have recourse to a clear, manageable summary of the relevant material when preparing for and reviewing after the art history lecture. For the lecture itself, I provide a guide sheet which includes unfamiliar names, dates and terms, a short summary of the lecture and several study questions, in hopes that the students will feel freer to spend their limited class time assimilating new ideas and visual material and jotting only such notes as they desire.

I hold it to be methodologically important to begin the lecture with at least a brief discussion of the concept of a period style; that is, of the aggregate characteristics by which a work of art is recognized to have been made at a given time and place by a given group of people. One may wish to caution the students that what is now termed the Romanesque period was an age of marked regional distinctions and considerable stylistic diversity, before going on to suggest that, despite the great distances and diverse cultures involved, strikingly similar developments in art and architecture may nevertheless be discerned along the pilgrimage routes. Most students respond well to the challenge to observe, to compare, even to question such similarities in the visual evidence subsequently to be presented, in light of the demonstrably coincident interests and regular communication among those who traveled and lived along the routes.

The first part of my slide lecture continues with several examples of reliquaries made of ivory, enamel, silver, gold and jewels: boxes of various shapes and sizes; vessels in the shape of body parts such as arms and heads; and the brilliant effigy of Ste. Foy at Conques. The sumptuousness of these vessels and the occasionally even more colorful legends attached to the relics they contain (particularly in cases of their holy misappropriation, or *sacra furta*) help quickly to attract the students' interest and to focus their attention on the same reliquaries which so attracted the pilgrims along their way. I then turn to an overview of a typical pilgrimage route as it unfolds from Arles to Santiago de Compostela, first on maps comparing the several main routes and

then with views. My familiarity with this route is due in no small measure to Professor William Melcer's Syracuse University summer seminar on The Medieval Pilgrimage Routes from Southern France to Santiago de Compostela, in which I was able to participate in 1987 thanks to a Thomas Terry Award from Santa Clara University and funding from the NEH faculty and curriculum development grant described in Professor French's introduction.

The southern route has the advantage of the ancient Roman ruins at Arles, which can be instructively compared with the classicizing façades of St. Trophime at Arles and the nearby St. Gilles-du-Gard. The picturesque hillside village setting of St. Guilhem-le-Désert, still famed for the relic of the True Cross donated by Charlemagne but denuded of its cloister reliefs (now in the United States), subsequently contrasts sharply with the massive structure of St. Sernin, rising above the busy central market of Toulouse. As one approaches the Somport pass, the castle-like tower of Oloron-St.-Marie and the effigies of two Moorish prisoners forever chained to its central trumeau bear mute testimony to the ancient enmity of Christian and infidel, and to the legendary adventures of Roland and Charlemagne in the Pyrenees. San Juan de la Peña may seem like a retreat at blessed remove, high above the fray, until one recalls that the reconquista of Spain was engineered from within its stony walls.

The steep descent to Jaca, past the brooding hulk of its fortress, brings home the severity of the Pyrenean barrier which the pilgrims had to surpass, and the animosities in the territories which they still had to traverse. Although the gracious silhouette of the Puente-la-Reina over the Rio Arga offers a pleasant prospect, and the monastery of Sto. Domingo at Silos, an apparently secure port in a storm, a rather more mixed message is communicated by the relief sculpture in the monastery's cloister. Christ, clad as a pilgrim, seems reassuringly to join in the journey to St. James' relics, but the shackles and chains of those taken prisoner by the Moors cover an altar only a few feet away. Of the churches at Carrión de los Condes and León, which follow, the relics, architecture and rich fresco decoration of San Isidoro at León, as well as its historical ties not only to St. Isidore, but also to St. Vincent of Avila, Alfonso V and Ferdinand I, merit especial attention. Finally, as one nears the culmination of the route, the rugged simplicity of small early churches such as that at El Cebrero can be opposed with telling effect to the almost overwhelming grandeur of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (fig. 3).

The students seem to respond equally well to the human interest of the deep holes worn in the trumeau of the Pórtico de la Gloria by the grateful touch of millions of arriving pilgrims over the ages; to the fabulous treasure displayed about the high altar; to the images of St. James slaying the Moors and to his silver shrine. I find it effective to show them the original manuscript copy of the Codex Calixtinus, from which they themselves have read translations. And I remind them that, even today, one well may be listening to a

Spanish homily at the main altar, while Italian visitors exclaim at the silver effigy of St. James behind the priest, a German group break into song in a side chapel, and newly-arrived Americans hear a lecture in the porch—all of which somehow harmonizes into a complementary chorus within the vast recesses of the great pilgrimage church, just as it has for centuries.

If the constant press of throngs of the faithful all along the pilgrimage routes helped to inspire the construction of such structures as these, suitable for the preservation, display and veneration of saintly tombs and relics in the later Middle Ages, so too did the ecclesiastical institutions' acquisition and advertisement of those venerable objects influence the routes and rituals undertaken by the pilgrims. In the second part of the lecture, I postulate, hardly originally, that the interdependent concerns of the pilgrims to and the custodians of such objects led to the creation of a network of remarkably homogeneous churches in France and Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. And I assert that the common desire to endow these houses of worship with permanence, magnificence and practicality occasioned a mode of building and decoration which is fundamental to our understanding of Romanesque style.

It has turned out to be most efficient to concentrate on the single church of St. Sernin at Toulouse, one of the largest and most typical structures on the way to Santiago de Compostela, in order to demonstrate the style and function of pilgrimage architecture (fig. 2). This Augustinian church, which houses the third-century relics of St. Saturninus, the first bishop of Toulouse, was probably begun in the late 1070s or early 1080s, and it was mostly finished by 1118. As do many similar structures of the period, the solid, relatively fireproof stone building possesses a coherent plan, grand size and scale, and good acoustics, all of which serve to make its sacred treasures properly accessible to local and transient worshippers alike.

Beginning on the outside of St. Sernin, one can single out a number of basic Romanesque features, such as the ready legibility of the blocky building, with its simple geometric masses subdivided by buttresses, colonettes and corbel tables and perforated by round-arched windows. A comparative illustration of the original exterior of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela serves to reinforce the visual impression of these features and to tie St. Sernin more closely in the students' minds to its venerable analogue at the end of the pilgrimage route. A good aerial view from the apse end of St. Sernin will not only reveal the exterior character of the building, but also clearly indicate many of its interior spaces and divisions, particularly those best adapted to its function as a pilgrimage church: the galleries, ample aisle and ambulatory space, and radiating chapels. Slides of the interior should be chosen to illustrate those same parts, along with the crypt and vaulting. A labeled plan and elevation of the structure can then diagram how those parts, already evident from without, also serve important functions in accommodating the

great masses of worshippers inside the church. This point can be brought home via a quick comparison with the strikingly similar plans of the pilgrimage churches of St. Martin at Tours, St. Martial at Limoges, Ste. Foy at Conques, and/or Santiago de Compostela.

Although I have come to center my discussion of Romanesque sculpture on St. Pierre at Moissac, St. Sernin provides a natural transition to it. From the early marble altar slab (1096) and the roughly coeval larger reliefs of Christ, the apostles and angels set into the ambulatory wall, the students can observe the migration of sculptural embellishment to the larger, more complex and more public program of the Miégeville portal (ca. 1115). Following Whitney Stoddard (*Art and Architecture in Medieval France*, 69), I ask them to think about the central place of Christianity in medieval society, the devout, even zealous spirit of the pilgrims, and the *vivid* instructive impact which painted and sculpted images would have had in that largely illiterate age. Like the architecture to which they were attached, those carved, and often painted, stone reliefs serve to remind the modern viewer of the shared beliefs of medieval worshippers of the most diverse backgrounds, who encountered and interpreted them in the course of their pilgrimage.

The south portal of St. Pierre (ca. 1115-1130) offers an ideal demonstration of the placement of *vivid* sculptural images for maximum attention and effect (fig. 4). From jamb to trumeau to tympanum, abstract and figural elements entertain, admonish, instruct, and ultimately threaten to overwhelm the viewer with the inescapable severity of eternal judgment. (One thinks of the terror-stricken fascination of Adso, unable to tear his eyes away from a carved portal in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*.) The sheer richness of detail and variety of memorable subjects at St. Pierre conspire with the harsh elegance of the carving to offset most students' resistance to the unnatural appearance of the figures themselves. They can easily read the identity of St. Peter on the jamb, the horror of beautiful Luxuria's punishment on the adjacent wall, the urgency of Jeremiah's prophecy on the trumeau, and the implacable admonition of the Second Coming of Christ in the tympanum above. Disproportionate forms, oddly hinged and jerky in their movements, obscured by the abstract patterns of their drapery and surmounted by staring, mask-like faces, are not peculiar to art along the pilgrimage routes. But their newly increased size and more prominent placement in powerfully didactic programs in the Romanesque period served the needs of the emergent pilgrimage phenomenon particularly well.

Since it was the sculptures' message, after all, which was of paramount importance for the pilgrims who were intended to view them, it can be useful to add some details from the Last Judgment tympana of Ste. Foy at Conques (ca. 1124) and St. Lazare at Autun (ca. 1125-1135) in order to elaborate on the crowning theme of the portal at St. Pierre. At Ste. Foy one may be amused by the spectacle of angels and devils squaring off over souls, or by the monk who

stole the saint's relics for the monastery as he slips in among the saved on Christ's right (fig. 1). But at St. Lazare the message turns forbiddingly grim, and even the contest between angel and devils at the scales on Christ's left cannot distract one's attention from the awful consequences which hang in the balance.

With respect to the often limited endurance of a young and novice group, this can be a reasonable note on which to conclude the lecture. An alternative, thematically appropriate conclusion might otherwise be found in the central portal of the narthex of La Madeleine at Vézelay (1120-1132). There, in a style of carving similar to that at Autun, the tympanum presents the unique theme of the Ascension of Christ coupled with the Mission of the Apostles. The apostles' assignment—to save or condemn, to spread the gospel throughout the world, to heal the sick and drive out devils, as Gardner's *Art Through the Ages* (370) would have it—is simultaneously bound up with the God-given power to accomplish those tasks. On the lintel below, variously afflicted men and women await release from their earthly torments. The church of La Madeleine not only possessed relics which made it an important stop for similarly hopeful pilgrims on one of the northern routes to Santiago de Compostela, but it was also directly connected with the preaching and launching of the first three crusades to the Holy Land. The lecture thus can end with a major Romanesque monument in which are linked the two strands of external, penitential pilgrimage which have been central to the history and art history sections of the pilgrimage module.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1. The Last Judgment, tympanum of western portal, Church of Ste. Foy, Conques (photo: author).
- Figure 2. South side, Church of St. Sernin, Toulouse (photo: author).
- Figure 3. Façade, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (photo: author).
- Figure 4. South portal, Church of St. Pierre, Moissac (photo: author).

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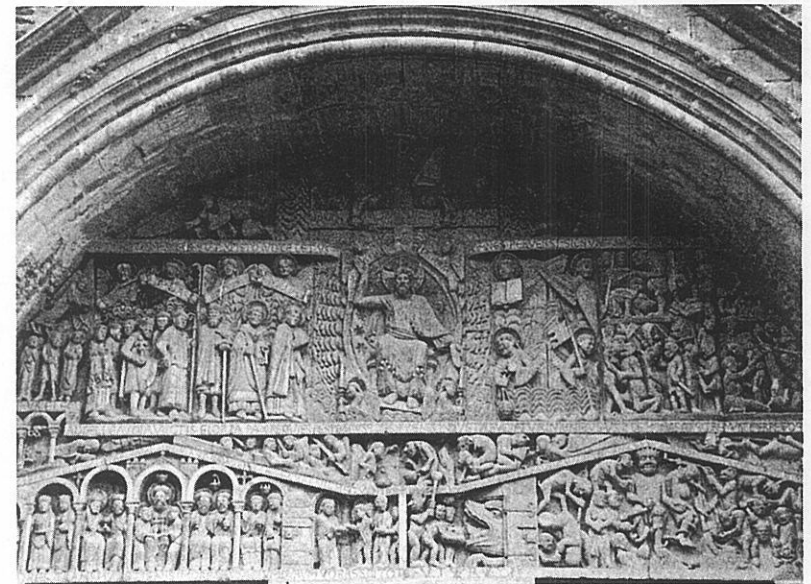


Figure 1. The Last Judgment, tympanum of western portal, Church of Ste. Foy, Conques (photo: author).



Figure 2. South side, Church of St. Sernin, Toulouse (photo: author).



Figure 3. Façade, Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (photo: author).



Figure 4. South portal, Church of St. Pierre, Moissac (photo: author).

Alfonso X's Model for Castilian Universities: The Community of Scholars in the Medieval Renaissance of Iberia

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This study represents an analysis of the concept and function of the university in thirteenth-century Iberia.¹ It serves as both an example of the medieval renaissance developed at the court of Alfonso X the Wise, king of Castile-León (1252-84), and an illustration of the issues associated with the teaching of medieval Iberian culture within the humanities curriculum in our own universities. The study has four parts: (1) a general introduction to the academic issues and pedagogical problems related to the teaching of medieval Iberian cultural history and literature; (2) a particular introduction to the phenomena of medieval renaissance and royal reformation as they develop in Alfonso's court and are reflected in his texts; (3) an examination of the royal model of scholarship and university that is presented in Alfonso's legal code, the *Siete partidas*; and, by way of conclusion, (4) an attempt to determine the role of the Wise King as patron of culture. In addition, a series of appendices, of use to those who wish to integrate Alfonsine culture and texts into the humanities or medieval studies curriculum, are included: The Works Cited or Consulted lists texts, bibliographies, and relevant studies (both on Alfonso and on medieval universities). The Reference Bibliography presents practical materials for the incorporation of Iberian culture into medieval studies; they consist of anthologies of Spanish literature, Alfonsine journals, homages, and symposia, general references on medieval Spanish history and literature, and visual aids (books with maps, chronologies, period illustrations, and photographs of medieval monuments and documents). A chronological-bibliographical table, developed by me as a guide for various classes, summarizes the major dates, institutions, and figures in education during the medieval Iberian renaissance (with references to universities and missionary schools, as well as to summas and encyclopedias published in Latin and the vernacular during the thirteenth century). Lastly, a sample list of slides (available from the Spanish Ministry of Culture), as they are organized for inclusion in my own classes, serve to illustrate historical, cultural, scholarly, and popular contexts of the Alfonsine renaissance.

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